

## Message Text

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OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 NEA-10 /115 W  
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1999

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5310

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

CINCLANT

:CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 5 USNATO 2913

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL,NATO, DPC

SUBJECT: DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING MAY 22, 1975; AGENDA ITEM III,  
INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

SUMMARY: MGEN FOURNAIS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR INTELLIGENCE,  
IMS, BRIEFED MINISTERS ON THE LATEST NATO EXTIMATE OF WARSAW  
PACT STRENTTH AND CAPABILITIES.HIS BRIEFING, TRANSMITTED  
BELOW, PROVIDE HIGHLIGHTS OF MC 161/75, IN PARTIUCLAR THE  
TREATMENT OF WARNING OF WAR AND THE STATUS OF SOVIET DEVELOP-  
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MENTS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, ANDSCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL  
FIELDS. HE REVIEWED THE STATUS OF SOVVIET MISSILE DEVELOPMENT AND  
OF GROUND, NAVAL, AND AIR FORCES. HE STATED THAT THE PACT  
IS DEVOTING GREATER ATTENTION TO CONVENTIONAL WARFARE AN AREA IN

WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE EXCELLENT EQUIPMENT,PARTTICULARLY  
IN ARMOR, ARTILLERY, AIR DEFENSE, AND LOGISTIC TRANSPORT.  
MGEN FOURNAIS SUMMARIZED THE MAJOR STRENGTHS AND WEAKENSSES  
OF THE WARSAW PACT AND, REFERRING TO MC 255, NOTED CONTINUED  
PACT EFFORT TO EXTEND INFLUENCE INTO AREAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST,  
NORTH AFRICA, AND ADJACENT SEA AREAS. HE SUMMARIZED HIS  
BRIEFING BY STATING THAT "THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL COMMITTED  
TO BECOMING THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE WORKD AND MILITARY  
STRENGTH IS THE KEY ELEMENT OF THEIR POLICY". HE CONCLUDED  
BY POINTING TO WARSAW PACT IMPORVEMENTS AND THE TREND IN SOME  
NATO COUNTRIES AND REDUCING MILITARY FORCES AND DEFENSE  
EXPENDITURES WHICH "LEADS ONE TO THE CNCLUSION THAT THE  
BALANCE CONTINUES TO CHANGE IN FAVOUR OF THE WARSAW PACT."  
MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION WAS WIDE-RANGING, TOUCHING ON A  
VARIETY OF SUBJECTS INCLUDING: THE NEED TO PROVIDE PUBLICS  
A BETTER APPRECIATION OF THE THREAT; THE NATURE OF POLITICAL  
DIFFICULTIES FACING MOD'S; THE NEED FOR A "NET" ASSESSMENT  
SHOWING NATO'S STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS AS WELL AS THOSE OF THE  
PACT; THE IMPROVED NATO TREATMENT OF WARNING TIME WHICH NOW  
FOCUSES ON PACT PREPARATIONS VICE DUECISIONS; THE EFFECT ON  
NATO STRATEGY OF A CHANGING NAVAL BALANCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN;  
AND A CONTROVERSIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING MGEN FOURNAIS'S BRIEFING, RICHARDSON (CANADA)  
LET OFF DISCUSSION BY STATING THAT WE MUST PERSUADEOUR PEOPLE AND,  
TO THIS END, THEY SHOULD HEAR WHAT MINISTERS HAVE JUST HEARD.  
RICHARDSON NOTED THAT HE NEEDS TO CONVINCE HIS COLLEAGUES AND  
COUNTRYMEN OF THE THREAT,SO MINISTERS SHOULD ALL STATE THE  
SITUATION MORE PUBLICLY. AFTER A BRIEF INTERCHANGE ON THIS  
QUESTION BETWEEN SYG LUNS AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY  
COMMITTEE, MGEN FOURNAIS ANNOUNCED THAT AN UNCLASSIFIED VER-  
SIONOF HIS BRIEFING WOULD BO TO THE PRESS AT NOON TODAY.

2. VANDEN BOEYNANTS (BELGIUM) EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT SECRETARY  
SCHLESINGER'S DIFFICULTIES ARE REALLY POLITICAL INNATURE. WHEN  
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND FOREGIN MINISTERS MEET AND MAKE CERTAIN  
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AGREEMENTS, DEFENSE MINISTERS FIND THEMSELVES "ACED".  
AS LONG AS THIS GOES ON, SPLITS WILL ARISE WITHIN  
GOVERNMENTS. THENEXT SPLIT THAT CAN ARISE IS THAT BETWEEN  
THE PEOPLE AND THE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AT THE  
POLICY LEVEL. IN THIS REGARD, VANDEN BOEYNANTS RMARKED  
THAT THE PUBLIC HEARS CONTRADICTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAD A  
COPY OF THEPAPER "NOUVELLES ATLANTIQUES" WITH WHAT HE CALLED  
AN INCREDIBLE STORY ABOUT WHAT THE US DEFENSE MINISTER HAD SAID  
ABOUT THE NILITARY BALANDE. BRANCHING OUT, VANDEN BOEYNAMTS STATED  
EUROPEAN MOD'S ARE SPEAKING TO THE "OLD FOGIES" WHO ARE ALL OVER  
THE ALLIANCE AND WHO DATE BACK TO WW II. THE YOUNG,HOWEVER, ARE NOT  
LISTENING AND THEMOD'S ARE ALONE IN BEING CONCERNED. MAKING A LAST  
POINT ON LENGTH OF CONSCRIPT SERVICE, VANDEN BOEYNANTS NOTED  
THAT MINISTERS CAN SAY ALL THEY WISH TO MOD'S BUT IT DOESN'T

SELL GOVERNMENTS. THE ALTERNATIVE IS MORE REGULARS, I.E.,  
"PROFESSIONALIZATION". THERE IS NOT ONE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT  
WHO COULD SWING AN INCREASE OF SIX MONTHS CONSCRIPT SERVICE  
WITH HIS PARLIAMENT.

3. LEBER (FRG) NOTED THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER GOT HIS  
BUDGET THROUGH CONGRESS WITHOUT MAJOR CUTS; ALSO SOME CRITICS  
IN CONGRESS SUCH AS SENATOR MANSFIELD HAVE BEGUN "LAYING OFF".  
BUT, HE ASKED, WHAT ABOUT THE EUROPEANS? SECRETARY SCHLESINGER  
IS RIGHT IN SAYING EUROPEANS MUST MAKE EFFORTS ESPECIALLY IN  
THE LIGHT OF HIS SUCCESS WITH CONGRESS AND THE CONTINUANCE OF  
THE US COMMITMENT. LEBER STATED THAT EUROPE'S UNCERTAINTIES  
LIE IN THE CONVENTIONAL EFFORT AND MOD'S MUST TELL PARLIAMENTS  
ABOUT THE THREAT. REFERRING TO THE INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING,  
LEBER DIDN'T SEE MUCH ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE LAST  
TWELVE MONTHS ALTHOUGH ITS TONE WAS PESSIMISTIC AS USUAL.  
HOWEVER, MINISTERS WERE NOT BRIEFED ON HOW MUCH WEAKER NATO  
HAS BECOME VIS-A-VIS THE PACT. LEBER WONDERED WHERE THE  
IMBALANCES WERE, AS WOULD BE FOUND IN A BUSINESS'S  
ACCOUNTING.

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

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R 231550Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2000

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5311

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

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4. VREDELING (THE NETHERLANDS) SAID HIS TROUBLE WAS WITH HIS FINANCE MINISTER AND THOUGHT IT A GOOD IDEA IF BOTH FINANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTERS COULD BE PRESENT AT DISCUSSIONS LIKE THIS. CONCERNING NATO'S CAPABILITY, VREDELING DOESN'T BELIEVE IT GETS WEAKER AND WEAKER ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING NATO'S INVESTMENT PROGRAMS COMPARED TO THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT; THESE PROGRAMS PRODUCE GOOD EQUIPMENT LIKE THE F-16. WITH THIS IN MIND, VREDELING STATED HE DOES NOT PLAN TO GIVE INFORMATION SUCH AS HE HEARD TODAY TO THE PUBLIC. PICKING UP LEBER'S POINT, VREDELING SAID HE WOULD NEED A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF NATO. IN THIS REGARD, HE CHARACTERIZED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S VIEW THAT WE ARE "NOT AS BAD AS WE  
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THINK" AS SELF-DEFEATING.

5. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET SIR PETER HILL-NORTON TOOK ISSUE WITH VREDELING'S ASSERTION THAT NATO LOOKS AT ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN. HE REFERRED TO ANOTHER DOCUMENT ON THE MILITARY APPRECIATION WHICH IS IN EFFECT A BALANCE SHEET. SYG LUNS JOINED SIR PETER IN THIS VIEW.

6. MASON(UK) REFERRED TO HIS HARD-WON EXPERIENCE GAINED FROM THE UK DEFENSE REVIEW AND AGREED THAT MOD'S MUST GET THIS KIND OF INFORMATION DECLASSIFIED SO THEY CAN USE IT. YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES ARE MORE TOLERANT TOWARDS ISSUES SUCH AS COMMUNISM AND, THEREFORE, PROTECTING INTELLIGENCE WHILE DEFENSE DECLINES IS "STUPID."

7. FOSTERVOLL(NORWAY)REMARKED THAT MOD'S HAVE SPOKEN FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AND THIS HAS BECOME FRUSTRATING. THE COURAGE TO FIGHT IN GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS MUST BE BASED ON THE WORTHINESS OF DOING MORE IN DEFENSE AND NOT ON JUST A STARK THREAT DESCRIPTION. HE NOTED THAT EUROPE IS NOT DOING ALL THAT BADLY IN BAD ECONOMIC TIMES. FINALLY, FOSTERVOLL STATED THAT NORWEGIAN SOLDIERS SERVING ONLY TWELVE TO FIFTEEN MONTHS ARE NOT A FLOP, AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE CONTENDED (DURING AGENDA ITEM II). TO TELL NORWEGIAN SOLDIERS DIFFERENTLY WOULD BE TO SUFFER A PSYCHOLOGICAL LOSS. IN LOOKING BACK TO THE DAYS WHEN THE US NUCLEAR MONOPOLY WAS EUROPE'S ONLY HOPE, LUNS REMARKED THAT NATO HAS COME A LONG WAY.

8. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE NEW HANDLING OF WARNING OF WAR. PAST EMPHASIS RELIED ON KNOWLEDGE OF POLITBURO INTENTIONS TO ATTACK. NOW WE CAN MONITOR EFFECTIVELY CHANGES IN PREPARATIONS TO ATTACK, AND MUST RESPOND TO THESE INDICATIONS OF PREPARATIONS INSTEAD OF INTENT TO ATTACK. EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER NOTED THE MILITARY STRESS ON SUDDEN ATTACK WAS BECAUSE THEY

FELT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WOULD NOT RESPOND. NOW E MUST  
RESPOND TO INDICATORS AND THIS PRESENTS A CHALLENGE TO  
POLITICAL WILL; TO THE EXTENT OUR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CAN  
RESPOND, WE ARE FINE.ON THIS SUBJECT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER  
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AGAIN COMMENDED THE MILITARY COMMITTEE.

9. AT THIS POINT,VADM JUNGUS, REPRESENTING SACLAN, PROVIDED  
A BRIEFING ON THE WORLDWIDE SOVIET NAVAL EXERCISE OKEAN 75.  
LEBER TOOK THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SUGGEST THAT NATO CONCEPTS  
MAY BE SUBJECT TO CHANGE. HE GAVE THE EXAMPLE OF THEUS  
SIXTH FLEET WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED TO SUPPORT FORCES ASHORE.  
HOWEVER THE GROWTH OF THE SOVIET MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON,  
WHICH CAN EQUAL THE SXTH FLEET, HAS PRESENTED A NEW SITUA-  
TION GOING BEYOND MERE QUANTITATIVE CHANGE. LEBER ALSO  
EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE WORLDWIDE COMMUNICATIONS CAPABILITY  
DEMONSTRATED BY SOVIET MARITIME FORCES.FINALLY, LEBER  
WONDERED ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S STRATEGIC PLANS IN THE LIGHT OF SOVIET  
ADVANCES.

10. CONCERNING THE SOVIET MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON, THE CHAIR-  
MAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE STATED THIS FORCE HAS BEEN  
STABLE AT ABOUT FIFTY UNITS FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS. HE  
CHARACTERIZED THE MEDITERRANEAN MARITIME SITUATION AS STILL  
BEING SATISFACTORY. IN THIS REGARD THE SOVIET AIRCRAFT  
CARRIERS WILL NOT BE IN THE SAME LEAGUE AS US CARRIERS AND  
THE NEXT FOUR TO FIVE YEARS SHOULD SEE NO REQUIRMENT FOR A  
NEW NATO STRATEGY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. LUNS REMARKED THAT  
FRANCE WAS SHIFTING THE BULK OF ITS NAVY FROM THE ATLANTIC  
TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ALSO CITED ITALY'S PLANNED  
EXPENDITURE OF 100 BILLION LIRE EACH YEAR ON ITS NAVY.

1. VREDELING, REFERRING TO LEBER'S SOUTH AFRICA COMMENT,  
EXPRESSED CONSTERNATION AND STRONGLY STATED HIS CONTRY'S  
OPPOSITION TO ANY CONSIDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCES  
POLICIES.

12. TEXT OF BRIEFING FOLLOWS:  
BEGIN TEXT:

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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 EB-07 OES-03 COME-00 AF-06 EA-06 NEA-10 /115 W

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R 231550Z MAY 75  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2001  
SECDEF WASHDC  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5312  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
USLOSACLANT  
CINCLANT  
:CINCUSAREUR  
CINCUSNAVEUR  
CINCUSAFE

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 5 USNATO 2913

REPORT TO  
THE DEFENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE IN MINISTERIAL SESSION  
ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1975 INTELLIGENCE CONFERENCE  
22 MAY 1975

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN,

THIS BRIEFING IS TO ADVISE YOU OF THE LATEST ESTIMATE  
OF WARSAW PACT STRENGTH AND CAPABILITIES AND OF WARSAW PACT  
PENETRATION INTO AREAS BORDERING NATO.

USERS OF THE EARLIER EDITIONS OF MC161 HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY  
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INTERPRETING THE TERMINOLOGY APPLICABLE TO THE WARNING OF WAR  
PROCESS. THE NEW ESTIMATE, IN ADDITION TO BEING MORE  
DESCRIPTIVE, ALSO INCLUDES THE DEFINITIONS OF THE TWO KEY TERMS,  
"WARNING" AND WARNING TIME". THE FIRST OF THESE TERMS,  
"WARNING", IS DEFINED AS ANY NOTIFICATION BY NATO INTELLIGENCE,  
BASED ON THE SUM OF THE AVAILABLE INDICATIONS, THAT WARLIKE  
PREPARATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS. THIS SECOND TERM, "WARNING TIME",  
IS DEFINED AS THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE INITIAL "WARNING" AND THE  
OUTBREAK OF WAR OR CANCELLATION OF "WARNING".

MISINTERPRETATION OF THESE TERMS IN REGARD TO JUST  
WHAT IT IS THAT INTELLIGENCE CAN DETECT, AS WELL AS A LACK  
OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERACTION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY  
INDICATIONS HAS LED SOME PEOPLE TO BELIEVE THAT INTELLIGENCE  
COULD PROVIDE AN INDICATION OF THE ENEMY INTENTION TO GO

TO WAR. HOPEFULLY, THIS MISCONCEPTION IS REMOVED IN THE NEW ESTIMATE BY THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE TERMINOLOGY THAT WARLIKE PREPARATIONS HAVE BEEN DETECTED.

AS A RESULT, THE PREVIOUS REFERENCES TO DIFFERING SCENARIOS HAVE BEEN DELETED FROM THE ESTIMATE. THE NATO INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY BELIEVES THAT INDICATIONS RESULTING FROM THE INCREASED LEVEL OF READINESS, WHICH THE WARSAW PACT WOULD HAVE TO TAKE AS A CONTINGENCY IN CASE OF ESCALATION, WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE SOMEWHERE IN NATO A BRIEF WARNING OF IMPENDING ATTACK.

MOVING ON NOW TO OTHER PORTIONS OF THE ESTIMATE, THE POLITICAL SECTION MAKES THE POINT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL COMMITTED TO BECOMING THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE WORLD, AND THAT MILITARY STRENGTH IS THE KEY ELEMENT OF THEIR POLICY.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE SECOND STRONGEST NATIONAL ECONOMY. IT IS STILL IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE, EXCEPT BY ESTIMATION, THE AMOUNT OF SOVIET EXPENDITURES ON DEFENSE. THE BEST ESTIMATES SHOW THAT DEFENSE SPENDING HAS GROWN MORE RAPIDLY THAN ANTICIPATED LAST YEAR. THE CONTINUING INCREASE IN EXPENDITURE WILL RESULT IN AN AMOUNT OF BETWEEN 30 AND 34 BILLION RUBLES IN 1975 AND IS ABOUT 8 PERCENT OF THE WESTERN ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.

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PRODUCT.

IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL FIELD, THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS SYSTEMS. NOTEABLE AMONG THESE ARE :

- A NEW SHORT-RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM, WHICH IS BEING DEVELOPED FOR THE GROUND FORCES AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE EXISTING SCUD.

- DEVELOPMENT IS IN PROGRESS OF SO-CALLED "SMART" OR CONTROLLABLE WEAPONS USING TELEVISION, OPTICS OR LASERS FOR GUIDANCE.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENT UNDER DEVELOPMENT IS THE RADAR OCEAN RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITE. THIS RECONNAISSANCE VEHICLE MAY HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF DETECTING UNITS AT SEA WITH PRECISION. WHEN OPERATIONAL IT WILL PERMIT WARSAW PACT NAVAL MISSILE FIRING FORCES TO LOCATE TARGETS WITHOUT THE SERVICES OF OPTICAL OR RADAR TARGET ACQUISITION PLATFORMS. WE HAVE NO FIRM KNOWLEDGE OF ITS DISCRIMINATION OR REAL-TIME DOWNLINK CAPABILITIES. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SUCH SATELLITES COULD ALSO BE USED FOR

NAVIGATION, COMMUNICATION, AND ELECTRONIC COUNTER MEASURES.

THE SOVIETS ARE TESTING FOUR NEW INTER-CONTINENTAL  
BALLISTIC MISSILES AND ALL OF THEM HAVE A DESIGNATION OF  
SS-X FOR EXPERIMENTAL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES, SO TO  
SOUND LESS COMPLICATED, I SHALL REFER ONLY TO THE NUMBERS.  
THE NEW ONES ARE THE 16, A SMALL SOLID-PROPELLANT MISSILE  
AND THE 17, 18 AND 19, ARE LARGE LIQUID-PROPELLANT MISSILES.  
THE 16 AND 18 HAVE SINGLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLE CAPABILITY; THE  
17, ONE VERSION OF THE 18 AND THE 19 HAVE A MULTIPLE  
INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLE (MIRV) CAPABILITY.

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5313

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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SDOGT EXISTING SOVIET ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM,  
GALOSH, PROVIDES ONLY A LIMITED DEFENCE FOR THE MOSCOW AREA  
AND APPEARS TO HAVE LITTLE ABILITY TO HANDLE SOPHISTICATED  
THREATS, THE SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY REPLACE IT UPON  
COMPLETION F CURRENT RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF  
NEW ANTI-BALLASTIC MISSILE COMPONENTS. THIS IS WITHIN THE  
TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS. WHEN AN  
OPERATIONAL OVER-THE-HORIZON DETECTION RADAR IS COMPLETED,



WHICH IS EXPECTED IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS, THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE IMPROVED BALLISTIC MISSILE EARLY WARNING.

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THE ASSESSED TOTAL STRENGTH OF SOVIET GROUND FORCES IS NEARLY 2.6 MILLION MEN IN 166 DIVISIONS AND THE RELATED ARMY AND FRONT COMBAT AND LOGISTIC SUPPORTS UNITS. THE GROUND FORCES OF THE NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ARE ASSESSED AS 791,000 MEN IN 60 DIVISIONS AND 5 BRIGADES. THIS IS AN OVERALL INCREASE OF ABOUT 360,000 MEN IN THE SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND OF NEARLY 30,000 MEN IN THE NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THESE INCREASED PERSONNEL FIGURES ARISE MAINLY FROM A REASSESSMENT OF AVAILABLE DATA RATHER THAN A CHANGE IN ACTUAL STRENGTHS OR ORGANIZATION.

THE WARSAW PACT IS DEVOTING GREATER ATTENTION TO THE CONDUCT OF CONVENTIONAL WARFARE, WITHOUT REDUCING THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. THE SOVIETS PROBABLY BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE REACHED THE CORRECT BALANCE BETWEEN NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES, AND APART FROM THE POSSIBLE INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR PROJECTILES FOR ARTILLERY, NO CHANGE IN THIS BALANCE IS EXPECTED.

WE SHOULD MAKE NO MISTAKE, THE SOVIETS HAVE EXCELLENT EQUIPMENT; THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE FIELD OF ARMOUR, ARTILLERY, AIR DEFENCE AND LOGISTIC TRANSPORT. WITHIN THE MOTORIZED RIFLE AND TANK DIVISIONS, A REORGANIZATION IS UNDERWAY LEADING TO GREATER FIREPOWER AND IMPROVED MOBILITY, (THROUGH THE USE OF MORE SOPHISTICATED EQUIPMENT).

THE SOVIETS ATTACH GROWING IMPORTANCE TO THE TACTICAL EMPLOYMENT OF ARMED HELICOPTERS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HELICOPTER ASSAULT CAPABILITY. ALTHOUGH THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SOVIET HELIBORNE ASSAULT DOCTRINE APPEARS BY NO MEANS COMPLETE, SOME DIVISIONS ARE APPARENTLY RECEIVING SPECIAL TRAINING.

IN GENERAL, IT IS ASSESSED THAT SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE IN COMBAT CAPABILITY THAN IN THEIR SIZE OR DISTRIBUTION.

IN THE NAVAL FORCES, SUBSTANTIVE IMPROVEMENTS CONTINUE, AMONG THEM:

-THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OPERATIONAL PATROL IN THE  
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GREENLAND/BARENTS SEAS, BY DELTA CLASS BALLISTIC MISSILE

SUBMARINES, OF WHICH THERE ARE NOW 6-8 OPERATIONAL.

- A SUCCESSOR TO THE DELTA IS NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND WILL PROBABLY BE LARGER THAN ITS PREDECESSOR AND WILL CARRY ABOUT 18 MISSILES.

-IMPROVEMENTS IN THE GENERAL PURPOSE SUBMARINES, (MAINLY) BY THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CHARLIE II CLASS NUCLEAR POWERED GUIDED MISSILE SUBMARINE; AND A RESUMPTION OF THE ALFA CLASS NUCLEAR POWERED SUBMARINE CONSTRUCTION HAS BEEN NOTED.

-THE FIRST OF THE KIEV CLASS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS IS NOW EXPECTED TO BE OPERATIONAL BY MID-1976, POSSIBLY EARLIER. A SECOND IS UNDER CONSTRUCTION. THIS CLASS IS EXPECTED TO HAVE ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AS A PRIMARY ROLE, AND MAY BE CAPABLE OF PERFORMING OTHER MISSIONS.

-THE BACKFIRE BOMBER APPEARS TO HAVE ENTERED SERVICE IN NAVAL AVIATION. IT WAS DEPLOYED IN THE RECENT NAVAL EXERCISE.

THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO DEPLOY THEIR NAVAL FORCES WORLD-WIDE AND THEY STILL EXPEND CONSIDERABLE EFFORT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR AFLOAT LOGISTIC SUPPORT CAPABILITY.

TURNING NOW TO THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AIR FORCES, THE SOVIETS HAVE CONTINUED TO INCREASE AND MODERNIZE THEIR AIRCRAFT INVENTORY. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THEIR TRAINING METHODS HAVE BEEN IMPROVED AND THEIR USE OF ADVANCED COMMAND AND CONTROL TECHNIQUES AND EMPHASIS ON OFFENSIVE TACTICS RESULT IN A GREATLY INCREASED AIR THREAT. THE BACKFIRE HAS ALSO BEEN DEPLOYED TO THE LONG-RANGE AVIATION FORCES AND THE CANDID, A NEW AND MORE VERSATILE TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT, HAS BEEN INTRODUCED INTO THE MILITARY TRANSPORT AVIATION. THE FENCIBLE FIGHTER BOMBER IS NOW OPERATIONAL WITH FRONTAL AVIATION AND, BY THE END OF 1975, WILL PROBABLY BE EQUIPPED WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH ANTI-RADAR GUIDANCE.

AIR DEFENCE FORCES CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE NEWEST  
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SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE SYSTEMS AND THE SA-8 HAS BEEN DEPLOYED IN THE LAST YEAR. IT PROVIDES GREATER ELECTRONIC COUNTER-COUNTERMEASURE AND LOWER ALTITUDE CAPABILITIES, BUT STILL DOES NOT COMPLETELY FILL THE LOW ALTITUDE GAP IN AIR DEFENCES WHICH THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO COVER WITH FIGHTER AIRCRAFT USING AIR-TO-AIR MISSILES.

CONSIDERING THE WARSAW PACT STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES, THE FOLLOWING MAJOR POINTS EMERGE:

ASTRATEGICALLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES  
FAVOURING THE SOVIETS ARE:

-THE MILITARY INITIATIVE;

-GEOGRAPHY: AND

-THE PEACETIME DEPLOYMENT OF FORCES.

- THE MAJOR MILITARY STRENGTH LIES IN THE SIZE AND  
EQUIPMENT OF WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES AND THEIR ABILITY  
TO MOBILIZE RAPDILY; CENTRALIZING CONTROL SIMPLIFIES DECISION  
MAKING AND RESPONSIVENESS TO COMMAND AND CONTROL, ESPECTIALLY  
IN AN EMERGENCY. NEVERTHELESS, HEREIN LIES A POTENTIAL  
WEAKNESS IN THAT OVER-CENTRALIZATION CAN LEAD TO A LACK OF  
FLEXIBILITY AND INITIATIVE, PARTIUCLARY IN LOWER LEVELS OF  
COMMAND, A SITUATION WHICH MAY BE MADE WORSE, IF PLANS GO  
WRONG OR IF UNEXPECTED SITUATIONS ARISE.

-EASTERN EUROPE PROVIDES A BUFFER ZONE FOR THE  
SOVIETS BUT IT CREATES THE DISADVANTAGES THAT THEIR LINES OF  
COMMUNICATION ARE LONG; THEY ARE ALSO RELATIVELY LIMITED,  
AS FAR AS STRATEGIC LAND TRANSPORT IS CONCERNED, ESPECIALLY  
WITHIN THE USSR.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 EB-07 OES-03 COME-00 AF-06 EA-06 NEA-10 /115 W

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R 231550Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2003

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5314

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

CINCLANT

:CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE

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-ALTHOUGH THE LEADERS OF THE NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ARE DEDICATED COMMUNISTS, AND THE GRIP OF THEIR PARTIES IS STONG IN EVERY FACET OF LIFE, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY HAVE CERTAIN DOUBTS ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES, AND THEREFORE MUST AKE THIS FACTOR INTO ACCOUNTY WHEN PLANNING.

LASTLY, THE MC 255 SHOWS THAT THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUED EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE WARSAW PACT TO EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE INTO THE AREAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA AND ADJACENT SEA AREAS WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SUCCESS, AND THIS IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE. ADDITIONALLY, THE RE-OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL, WHICH IS EXPECTED SOMETIME  
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IN EARLY JUNE 1975, WILL GIVE GREATER FLEXIBILITY TO THE NAVAL FORCES AND PERMIT FAR EASIER ACCESS TO THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA, THE PERSIAN GULF, THE INDIAN OCEAN, AS WELL AS THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT IT IS COMPARATIVELY EASY TO RE-CLOSE THE CANAL.

TO SUMMARIZE, GENTLEMEN, THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL COMMITTED TO BECOMING THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE WORLD AND MILITARY STRENGTH IS THE KEY ELEMENT OF THEIR POLICY. THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN QUALITY, IN BOTH COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS AND MATERIEL IN ALL THEIR SERVICES. THEY CONTINUE UNABATED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND IMPROVED STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL MISSILE SYSTEMS.

THIS YEAR'S ESTIMATE AGAIN SHOWS CLEARLY THAT THE MILITARY STRENGTH AND CAPABILITY OF THE WARSAW PACT HAS FURTHER IMPROVED. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS, THEIR IMPROVEMENTS ARE ONLY REDUCING THE LEAD WHICH THE WEST HAS HELD FOR MANY YEARS. FURTHERMORE, TO BE REALISTIC ONE MUST LOOK AT BOTH SIDES OF THE EQUATION. THE TREND OVER RECENT YEARS OF REDUCING MILITARY FORCES AND DEFENCE EXPENDITURES IN SOME NATO COUNTRIES LEADS ONE TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE BALANCE CONTINUES TO CHANGE IN FAVOUR OF THE WARSAW PACT.  
BRUCE

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**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
GENEVA  
MADRID  
MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR  
USLOSACLANT  
CINCLANT  
:CINCUSAREUR  
CINCUSNAVEUR  
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